


UNIV. OF MD COLLEGE PARK



3 1430 05346842 9



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
LYRASIS Members and Sloan Foundation

<http://archive.org/details/humaniti2005mary>

Margaret Folio AS28, M3-81 2005

OCT 19 2006

July 2005



HUMANITIES

Archaeology | Art Criticism | Comparative Religion | Ethics | History | Jurisprudence | Language | Literature | Philosophy | Related Social Sciences



Chautauqua 2005

War and Democracy: Personal Journeys

FEATURING

Margaret Bourke-White • Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. • Abraham Lincoln • George Orwell



WELCOME

TO OUR ELEVENTH ANNUAL CHAUTAUQUA!

Chautauqua (shuh-taw-kwa) takes its name from a lake in upstate New York, beginning in 1874 as a training course for Sunday School teachers. In 1878 the Chautauqua movement expanded its philosophy of adult education to include an appreciation for the arts and humanities. By 1904, Chautauqua took to the road as part of the Lyceum movement, bringing lectures and entertainers to towns across America. By 1930, radio, movies, and automobiles had made Chautauqua largely a thing of the past.

Reborn as a public humanities program in 1976, today's Chautauquas feature scholars who take on the persona of celebrated historical figures, educating and entertaining audiences as they bring the past to life again. Families gather for our Chautauqua under starry skies in a big open tent.

Chautauqua 2005 *War and Democracy: Personal Journeys* features appearances by Margaret Bourke-White, Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., Abraham Lincoln, and George Orwell. It will be a memorable ten days of free programs under the big top at Cecil Community College, Chesapeake College, the College of Southern Maryland, the Community College of Baltimore County, Catonsville, Garrett College, and Montgomery College—Germantown.

We also wish to thank Lockheed Martin, NiSource Charitable Foundation, Columbia Gas of Maryland, the Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, and the National Endowment for the Humanities for their generous support of Chautauqua programming. Thanks also to WYPR for their media partnership and Harborplace and the Gallery for advertising space.

Peggy Burke
Executive Director

The Maryland Humanities Council wishes to thank the following institutions and people:

Cecil Community College

W. Stephen Pannill, President • Michael Petkewec, Site Coordinator • Cecil County Public Library, Cecil County Commissioners, Cecil County Tourism • The Footlighters, North East Middle School, State Highway Administration, Bethanne Ryan, Al Mollica, Della Lied, Cheryl Kraus, Dan Long, Michelle Byrd-Brakage, Karen Decker, Charlene Conolly, Laurie Slifer Lopez, Alicia Watson, Adam Kamras, Jeff Bauder, Cathy Thomas, Delegate David Rudolph, Sandy Turner

Chesapeake College

Stuart M. Bounds, President • Linda Tebbs, Site Coordinator • Marcie Alvarado-Molloy and Dick Petersen, Planning Committee

The College of Southern Maryland

Elaine Ryan, President • Emmitt Woodey, Site Coordinator • Stacie Aubel, Michelle Goodwin, Timothy Keating, John Maerhofer, Sherry Santana, CSM Marketing Department, CSM Theatre Company, CSM Nursing and Technology Department

The Community College of Baltimore County

Andrew Jones, President, CCBC Catonsville • CCBC Chautauqua 2005 Planning Committee, F. Scott Black, Jacquie Lucy, Gaynele Bess, co-chairs • Sue Fowler and Ron Schmidt, CCBC Facilities Department • CCBC Dundalk Horticulture Program

Garrett College

Stephen J. Herman, President • Elizabeth Johnson and Stephen Schlosnagle, Planning Committee

Montgomery College—Germantown

Hercules Pinkney, Vice President and Provost • John Hare and Cynthia Ray, Site Coordinators



MARYLAND
HUMANITIES
COUNCIL

Explore the HUMAN Experience

STAFF

Margaret R. Burke
Executive Director

Stephen G. Hardy
Associate Director

Karen Gallagher
*Director of Development and
Communications*

Judy D. Dobbs
Program Officer

Jean C. Wortman
Program Officer

Danielle Simms
Executive Assistant

Kathleen Amshoff
Program Assistant

Goshia Piechocka
Administrative Assistant

Inside MD HUMANITIES

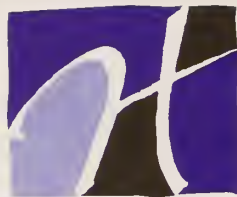
War and Democracy—Personal Journeys

1. War and Democracy: Personal Journey
2. Margaret Bourke-White: An Eye on War and Democracy – DORIS DWYER
6. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr: Fighting on Two Fronts – J. HOLMES ARMSTEAD, JR.
10. Abraham Lincoln: Waging War and Preserving a Democracy – JIM GETTY
14. George Orwell on War and on Democracy – JOHN C. (CHUCK) CHALBERG
18. Events at Garrett College
19. Events at Montgomery College—Germantown
20. Events at the Community College of Baltimore County, Catonsville
21. Events at Cecil Community College
22. Events at Chesapeake College
23. Events at the College of Southern Maryland

Cover Photographs: Margaret Bourke-White courtesy of the Sandor Family Collection; Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. and Abraham Lincoln courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Divisions, Library of Congress; George Orwell courtesy of the Orwell Archive, University College London Library. All caricatures by Tom Chalkley, Baltimore, Maryland.

MARYLAND HUMANITIES is published by the **MARYLAND HUMANITIES COUNCIL**, an independent, nonprofit, tax-exempt organization. Our offices are located at 108 W. Centre Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Issue number 86. Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent those of the Maryland Humanities Council, the National Endowment for the Humanities, or other funders.

Council programs receive major support from the **National Endowment for the Humanities**, with additional funding from the Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, corporations, foundations, and individuals.



What is the MARYLAND HUMANITIES COUNCIL ?

BOARD

Chair

Stanley C. Gabor
Baltimore City

Drew Berry
Baltimore City

James T. Brady
Frederick County

Nguyen Minh Chau
Montgomery County

Cornelius P. Darcy
Carroll County

Rhoda M. Dorsey
Baltimore County

Iris Carter Ford
St. Mary's County

Catherine R. Gira
Allegany County

Judith P. Hallett
Montgomery County

Lenneal J. Henderson, Jr.
Howard County

Robert B. Kershaw
Baltimore City

Walter J. Leonard
Montgomery County

Robert R. Lindgren
Baltimore City

Melissa McLoud
Talbot County

Christine C. Sarbanes
Baltimore City

Martin E. Sullivan
St. Mary's County

Winston Tabb
Baltimore City

Gary K. Vikan
Baltimore City

Steven G. Ziger
Baltimore City

The Maryland Humanities Council, a private, educational nonprofit organization, is the Maryland affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities. The humanities include archeology, comparative religion, ethics, history, jurisprudence, literature, philosophy, poetry, the history, criticism and theory of the arts, and related social sciences. The Council encourages public dialogue that interprets human experience, promotes cross-cultural understanding, explores human values, strengthens our community, and connects us to the wider world. Our public humanities programs, both staff-initiated and grant-supported, help provide a bridge between the academic community and the general public.

Maryland History Day: In this growing, year-long program, students from throughout Maryland showcase their research through interpretive papers, historical performances, exhibits, and multi-media documentaries. In 2005, over 10,000 middle and high school students from more than 170 schools in 14 counties and Baltimore City participated in the Maryland History Day program. The program culminates in the statewide competition held in April at Montgomery College, Rockville. Winners at the state contest represented Maryland at the National History Day competition in June.

Chautauqua: Over 4,000 people attend living history performances at annual summer Chautauqua events in every region of Maryland. Chautauqua 2005, "War and Democracy: Personal Journeys," features Margaret Bourke-White, Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., Abraham Lincoln, and George Orwell. The Maryland Humanities Council Chautauqua takes place on the campuses of six community colleges—Garrett College, Montgomery College—Germantown, the College of Southern Maryland, Chesapeake College, Cecil Community College, and the Community College of Baltimore County, Catonsville.

Speakers Bureau: The Council's Speakers Bureau offers 60 speakers who make presentations on 120 different topics to communities throughout Maryland. Our dynamic speakers and their wide range of topics are listed on our website, www.mdhc.org, together with our paper-free application process.

Grants: Our grant program supports a wide range of high quality, public humanities projects in communities throughout Maryland. More than 40 grants, ranging from \$1,500 to \$10,000, are awarded annually to grassroots and large organizations. Funds are competitively awarded, and the Opportunity Grant portion of the program requires only a six-week lead time. Guidelines and application information are on our website, www.mdhc.org.

Reading and Discussion Programs: The Council is piloting two innovative reading and discussion series. *Humanities at the Heart of Healthcare* is a hospital-based reading and discussion program that encourages health care workers to reflect on their professional roles and

relationships. *War and Democracy – A Literary Engagement* brings together participants at various locations throughout the state to contemplate, through literature, the relationship between war and democracy. A new program on *Civility* will be developed and piloted in 2005.

Museum on Main Street: In 2007 the Council will sponsor the Maryland tour of the exhibition *Key Ingredients: America by Food*, exploring the connections between Americans and the food they produce, prepare, preserve, and present. The exhibition is part of Museum on Main Street, a partnership between the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Services and state humanities councils nationwide. Humanities-based public programs will be developed around the exhibition to engage each host community in discussions and other activities related to the *Key Ingredients* theme. The exhibition will travel statewide to six sites.

The Changing Faces of Democracy: A 2005-2006 initiative involving thousands of Marylanders in thoughtful discussion, research, and civic engagement will be launched on this theme. The Council will foster broad, active and inclusive dialogue about the history of democratic ideals in the United States and abroad, and the challenges faced by democracies now and in the future.

Task Force on Social Studies Education: Dr. Nancy Grasmick, Maryland State Superintendent of Schools, has asked the Council to co-chair a statewide Task Force that examines issues and concerns related to K-12 social studies education in Maryland.

Maryland Online Encyclopedia (MdOE): In 2003 the Council launched a collaborative effort with the Maryland Historical Society, the Maryland State Department of Education, and the Enoch Pratt Free Library to develop an online encyclopedia of Maryland's rich history and culture. This resource of 3,000 entries and articles will be freely available on the web to an international audience of students, educators, scholars, business professionals, seniors, residents, visitors, and potential visitors to the state.

War and Democracy: Personal Journeys



No matter its origins, war profoundly changes a nation. This is especially true for the United States — a country born in revolution — as wars have often shaped and changed the meaning and practice of our democracy. The coming of wars has magnified existing tensions in American society, while at the same time wars have created the impetus for democratic change. This year's Chautauqua explores the impact of war and democracy on our history through the personal journeys of four individuals: President Abraham Lincoln, photojournalist Margaret Bourke-White, Tuskegee airman Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., and novelist George Orwell.

In the Declaration of Independence, the founding fathers espoused a revolutionary and lofty ideal: that governments derive “their just powers from the consent of the governed.” Extending full participation in American democracy to all of the governed has been a slow evolution toward that ideal.

As president, Abraham Lincoln fought a war to preserve the Union that had been created seventy years earlier. One of the major issues that divided the country was whether black Americans should have the same say in our democracy as white Americans. After the bloodiest war in American history, which also claimed Lincoln as a casualty, the United States delivered “a new birth of freedom” for African Americans in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. But local intransigence often meant that this freedom was short-lived.

Less than a century ago, more than half of American citizens still could not participate in the democratic process. The Progressive movement of the early twentieth century and World War I — a war to “make the world safe for democracy” — combined with the Nineteenth Amendment to ensure that women would be full participants in American democracy and ultimately American society. Margaret Bourke-White was one of those pioneers whose life and work helped to redefine the place of women in the United States. Her World War II photographs captured the realities of the struggle against fascism and documented the horrible results of Nazi theories of racial superiority.

World War II also provided African Americans with the opportunity to redouble their efforts to redeem the promise of full participation in democracy. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. — one of the famous “Tuskegee Airmen” — fought for two victories during the war: a victory over fascism in Europe and Asia and a victory over racism in the United States. His efforts — and those of many other African Americans — added enormous strength to the growing Civil Rights Movement.

Finally, George Orwell's experience in several wars against totalitarian forces reinforced his belief in political democracy and motivated his famous works critiquing totalitarianism during the early Cold War. While the global struggle between the superpowers seemed to threaten worldwide destruction, Orwell's works reminded the United States and the West that democracy is the best way to ensure freedom and preserve liberty.

The life and work of each of these figures were profoundly shaped by the interplay of the powerful forces of war and democracy. Their personal journeys give us insight into some of the important moments in our history. *



Margaret Bourke-White: An Eye on War and Democracy

By DORIS DWYER

The name of Margaret Bourke-White evokes images of a woman in perpetual motion, an intrepid pioneer shaping the world of photojournalism. Bourke-White was the first photographer hired by Henry Luce for *Fortune*, his first venture into journalism where text and photography complemented each other and conveyed information in a fundamentally new way. Later Luce hired Bourke-White as one of the original, and only female, photographers for *Life*. She was the first American woman to excel in industrial photography, and the first woman to photograph a bombing raid from the air. As a photographer who always seemed to be in the right place at the right time, her exploits fascinated readers around the world, and she became a role model for young girls everywhere. Her face was as famous as her best-known photographs — the images that she hoped educated her audiences about the times in which they lived.

Bourke-White's photojournalistic work captured the multi-faceted nature of modern life. She documented urban and rural civilization, the world at peace and at war, from the air over the North Pole to the underground mines of South Africa. But the theme that best encapsulates Bourke-White's legacy was her photographic documentation of the seemingly limitless power of modern technology: her photography celebrated America's ability to solve any technical problem and to overcome any obstacle to improve the quality of modern life.

The inaugural issue of *Fortune* magazine in 1930 highlighted the Bourke-White feature that historians consider to be the first photo essay. Her documentation of the hog slaughterhouses traced the entire slaughtering process, from the penning of the hogs to the heaps of dust that constituted the final remnants of the hapless hogs. The impersonal efficiency of the pork production line that she so admired simultaneously repelled and impressed Americans increasingly distanced from their agricultural past.

Bourke-White's work for *Fortune* eventually brought her face-to-face with the limits of the technology. In 1934 she was assigned a story on the effects of the dust storms on the Midwest. With characteristic gusto she hired a private plane and covered 10 states in a matter of days. The stark power of nature to destroy what seemed to be the unmitigated capacity of America's farmers to produce shocked and traumatized her. Her faith in American ingenuity and resolve was severely shaken; her Dust Bowl experience began her transformation into a documenter of the downtrodden.

Her newfound understanding of the fragility of life for the less fortunate would change Bourke-White's photojournalism in subtle but significant ways. As her assignments took her to Germany and the USSR, her photography documented the dignity of work and the worker under totalitarian regimes. Such work later led to accusations that she was a Communist. She vehemently denied charges and rededicated her work to a depiction of American life.

Her interest in modern technology continued to characterize her work even as she welcomed new ventures. The inaugural cover of *Life* magazine in 1936 once again featured Bourke-White's documentation of America's audacious challenge to nature symbolized by the Fort Peck Dam, one of a series of projects intended to control the unpredictable rivers of the west. Her photographic record of the construction of the dam was a logical extension of her seminal work in industrial photography, a field that most photographers had ignored until Bourke-White photographed the steel furnaces and the Terminal Tower, headquarters for the industrial conglomerate that had transformed the landscape of Cleveland. Her experiments with illumination, her control of photographic subjects, and her careful attention to composition and design resulted in images that to this day evoke the explosive power of industrial and democratic America.

World War II provided new opportunities. Her wartime photography captured the terrifying possibilities of technology adapted to destruction. The images of the tracer explosives illuminating the skyline of Moscow during the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 remain classics of wartime photography. Her aerial photographs of the Italian campaign starkly document the pockmarks on the landscape of Italy and the flattened ruins of the great Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino. Bourke-White brought the realities of war to a world audience through the pages of *Life*, as well as through her books *The Purple Heart Valley* and *Dear Fatherland*.

The culmination of her wartime photography, and perhaps her ultimate testament to the unspeakable possibilities of modern technology, are the haunting, sickening images of Buchenwald and the Erla prison camp. Her famous photograph, "The Living Dead of Buchenwald," not only continues to inform the world of the ultimate implications of totalitarianism but also serves as a moving, silent tribute to the power of human survival.

Bourke-White's relentless pursuit of great moments made her a twentieth-century icon. Readers of *Life* thrilled to her adventures on a torpedoed warship and survival to photograph the rescue. Her assignment to the North Pole included an unforeseen and dangerous landing on an uncharted island within the Arctic Circle. She endured a helicopter crash, bombings, riots and countless life-threatening situations on the battlefield in pursuit of her profession. Her notable portrait

of Stalin, her interview with Gandhi just hours before his death, her searing portraits of sharecroppers in the American South, and her work on Korean civilians during war there are just samples of her considerable body of work, images that today continue to deepen our understanding of the terrors and rewards of modern life by capturing the faces of good and evil.

Bourke-White had her critics. Fellow photographers accused her of grandstanding, shameless self-promotion, distorting her photographs with inauthentic captions, and using her feminine charm to gain an unfair advantage. According to female colleagues, she was unbearable to work with, and her insistence on maintaining complete control over her photographic subjects led to charges of manipulated images. Still, the devotion of her readers remained unshaken, and fellow photographers Abraham Eisenstadt and Robert Capa sang her praises.

Gradually, Bourke-White's need to describe the stories behind the images led her to a life of writing. Her aspirations as a writer were heightened by her relationship with Erskine Caldwell, the controversial author who shocked America with his literary portrayals of the American South. In 1936, Caldwell sought a photographer to document the reality behind his explosive novels *Tobacco Road*, *God's Little Acre*, and *Journeyman*. The result of the initial collaboration with Caldwell was the pioneering work *You Have Seen Their Faces*, an insightful study of poverty and survival in the rural South. *Faces*, the most acclaimed of their four joint efforts, paved the way for a genre that included



Self-Portrait, 1943. Courtesy of the Sandor Family Collection

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men and the superb photography of Dorothea Lange and other Farm Security Administration photographers.

The photojournalistic legacy of this prolific and exciting artist ensures her a central place in twentieth century photojournalism, yet it is particularly appropriate that she be included in an examination of the intersection between war and democracy. As she shifted her focus from photography to chronicling world events through writing, Bourke-White sought to examine, among other things, the effect of war on civilians. It is fitting that her last major assignment for *Life* focused on the villagers of South Korea during the Korean War.

While most of her colleagues there rushed to the front to capture the grisly reality of hand-to-hand combat and the presence of death in the fight to contain communism, Bourke-White went into the villages to document the lives of

Meet Doris Dwyer (Margaret Bourke-White)



Doris Dwyer is a professor at Western Nevada Community College, where she has taught history and humanities since 1980. She received her Ph.D. in American History from Miami University of Ohio, and her M.A. in history and B.A. in Social Science from Eastern Kentucky University. Dwyer has been active in Chautauqua since 1994, when she was invited to participate in the Great Basin Chautauqua entitled "Desert Passages." Other Chautauqua characters include Margaret Sanger, California pioneers Sarah Royce and Margaret Breen of the Donner Party, and Rachel Carson, whom she portrayed at Maryland's 2004 Chautauqua. Dwyer is currently researching the life of evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson.



Koreans who continued their daily routine amidst the chaos of war. She encountered situations there that spoke to the heart of family life. She captured images there that she considered to be her most informed work. Unforgettable images recorded the juxtaposition of primitive methods of war employed by villagers amidst a canvas of threatened nuclear holocaust. One story featured a modern Korean re-enactment of the prodigal son: a disenchanted youth defected to the Communist insurgents, then, disillusioned with the promises of North Koreans, humbly begged the forgiveness of his elder brother who ran the village council. Later, her lens captured the image of the same young man, given up for dead by his family, reunited with his startled and overjoyed mother. Bourke-White's uncanny judgment and artistic abilities remained sharp until the end.

The photography of Margaret Bourke-White remains a visual feast for Americans of the twenty-first century. Her photographs continue to inform and to educate, as she intended. Theodore Brown, scholar and critic of twentieth-century photography, wrote that her work was not a mere record but photographs that "enlarge our consciousness." She instilled in her work "a child's sense of wonder, an adult's understanding of tragedy, and a strong impulse to share experience" and "her empathy, discerning eye, and agile mind created a body of work which establishes her as one of the great visual artists of our time." Her place as an exemplary chronicler of the forces of democracy and war in the twentieth century is secure. ✱

SELECTED READINGS

Bourke-White, Margaret. *Dear Fatherland, Rest Quietly*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1946.

_____. *Halfway to Freedom*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1949.

_____. *Portrait of Myself*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963.

_____. *Eyes on Russia*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1931.

_____. *Shooting the Russian War*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1942.

_____. *They Called It "Purple Heart Valley"*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1944.

Brown, Theodore. *Margaret Bourke-White, Photojournalist*. Ithaca, NY: Andrew Dickson White Museum of Art, Cornell University, 1972.

Caldwell, Erskine, and Margaret Bourke-White. *North of the Danube*. New York: Viking Press, 1939.

_____. *Say: Is This the U.S.A.?* New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1941.

_____. *You Have Seen Their Faces*. New York: Viking Press, 1937.

Callahan, Sean. *Margaret Bourke-White, Photographer*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1998.

Goldberg, Vicki. *Margaret Bourke-White: A Biography*. New York: Harper and Row, 1986.

Phillips, Stephen Bennett. *Margaret Bourke-White: The Photography of Design 1927-36*. New York: Rizzoli, 2003.

Rubin, Susan Goldman. *Margaret Bourke-White, Her Pictures Were Her Life*. New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1999.

Silverman, Jonathon. *For the World to See: The Life of Margaret Bourke-White*. New York: Viking Press, 1983.

Margaret Bourke- White

1904-1971



Courtesy of the Prints and Photographs
Division, Library of Congress

- 1904 Born in New York City to Joseph and Minnie (Bourke) White
- 1921-1922 Attended the Photography School of Clarence White
- 1924 Married Everett Chapman; the marriage lasted only a short time
- 1927 Graduated from Cornell University; paid her college expenses by selling her photographs of the Cornell Campus
- 1927 Began her industrial photography career in Cleveland
- 1930 Hired by Henry Luce for the staff of *Fortune* magazine
- 1936 Hired by Henry Luce for the staff of *Life* magazine
- 1936 Began her professional collaboration with Erskine Caldwell
- 1939 Married Erskine Caldwell in Silver City, Nevada. Marriage ended in divorce in 1942
- 1941 Photographed the German invasion of Moscow
- 1942-1943 Photographed the Italian campaign bombing raids, including the destruction of the Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino
- 1944 Wrote *They Call It "Purple Heart Valley"*
- 1946-1948 Photographed the events in India leading to Indian independence
- 1952-1953 Documented the effects of the war in Korea on Korean civilians
- 1955 Began her autobiography, *Portrait of Myself*
- 1971 Died of complications from Parkinson's disease in Darien, Connecticut



Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.: Fighting for Democracy on Two Fronts

By J. HOLMES ARMSTEAD, JR.

When United States Air Force Lieutenant General Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. retired from active military service in 1970, he could reflect on a remarkable career since taking the oath as a cadet on the Plain at West Point in 1932. He was the first African-American to graduate from West Point in the twentieth century; he was the first African-American to serve as a General's aide de camp in the Army; he was the first African-American to command fighter planes in a combat unit; and he was the first African-American to be an Air Force General officer.

In fact, Davis could claim so many firsts that one might relate his life as a litany of numbers, but such a list would belie the nature of the conflicts and struggles involving war and democracy during his life. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. was born on December 18, 1912 in Washington, DC to Benjamin and Elnora Davis. Davis's father was a career soldier who enlisted in the Army during the Spanish-American War, became one of only two black officers in the Army in 1901, and eventually rose to command an all-black Cavalry brigade.

The younger Davis confronted racism at an early age. In the early 1920s — when his father was stationed at Tuskegee, Alabama — the Ku Klux Klan marched to make sure that all jobs at the new hospital for black veterans were awarded to white workers. Local African-American families were advised to stay indoors and turn off all lights to avoid provoking the Klan. Lieutenant Colonel Davis refused. The entire family, including Lieutenant Colonel Davis in his white dress Army uniform, sat on the porch with all lights ablaze. The lights from the Davis house and the torches of the Klansmen were the only sources of illumination on the street that night. The evening passed without incident and the hospital was staffed with African-Americans as originally planned, but the event made a powerful impression on the junior Davis about confronting racism.

In 1932, Davis was appointed to the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. Even though he was the son of an Army officer, he was the only African-American at the Academy. No cadet roomed or ate meals with him during his four years there. He was subjected to constant slights by his fellow cadets, including being “silenced” by the entire corps of cadets: no one spoke to him except on official business or to issue an order.

In spite of the four-year ordeal, Davis graduated thirty-fifth in a class of 276. He should have been able, by his standing, to choose any branch for service after commissioning including the prestigious Corps of Engineers. He wanted to fly but was turned down by the Air Corps because no provision existed for “Negro flying units” in 1936. Second Lieutenant Davis was subsequently assigned to the all-black 24th Infantry at Fort Benning, Georgia, where he soon realized that his

hard work training the eager young soldiers was for naught. Based on a 1925 Army War College study that found blacks to be lazy, morally corrupt, and minimally intelligent, the Army relegated black combat regiments to menial fatigue duties. The Army believed that the characters and abilities of African-Americans were incompatible with military service in a modern, technologically progressive armed force.

These racist attitudes extended to Davis himself. Other officers at Fort Benning refused to socially associate with him and his new wife, Agatha. Neighbors pointedly refused to speak to them. And, he was deliberately excluded from the Fort Benning Officers' Club, which he considered the most deeply insulting of all the racist behavior during his career.

In 1940, newly re-elected President Franklin Roosevelt, overruling unanimous objections from the all white Army Air Corps, ordered that an "experimental flying program" be created to determine if specially selected African Americans could withstand the rigors of military aviation. In the spring of 1941, Davis was ordered to report to Tuskegee Army Air Field to begin initial flight training. Before Davis left Fort Riley, he took and flunked a flight physical, which he had passed earlier as a cadet at West Point. The flight surgeons at Fort Riley had not been told that black pilots were being accepted for flight training, so they "discovered" he had mysteriously contracted epilepsy. A retest immediately confirmed a "miraculous" cure, as Army doctors now knew that flight officer candidates would be accepted if medically qualified.

In July 1941, Davis and twelve other aviation cadets reported to Tuskegee for training as pilots. While Davis was not the most skillful flyer of the group, he and four classmates graduated from flight school in 1942, received their pilot wings, and became the first "Tuskegee Airmen." Davis later said that "All the Blacks in the segregated forces operated like they had to prove they could fly an airplane when everyone believed that they were too stupid."

In August 1942, Davis took command of the all-black 99th Pursuit Squadron, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. In early 1943, the unit was deployed to North Africa, and later to Sicily and Italy. After initial combat sorties in North Africa and the Mediterranean, the squadron became part of the 332nd Fighter Group and was known as the "Red Tails" for the red-painted tail fins of their airplanes. By then Colonel Davis, the Group's commander, had developed quite a reputation for welding an effective combat fighter formation. Davis' own P-51 Mustang became known as "By Request" since bomber pilots often requested the 332nd for fighter support on their missions. Contradicting official Army views on the ability of African-American pilots, the 332nd never lost a bomber to enemy aircraft attack, and a secret 1944 Air Force study

concluded that the 332nd's record was equal to that of any other unit in the Mediterranean theater.

During the war, Davis and his pilots certainly knew that they were fighting two wars, as civil rights leaders framed the struggle. First, they were fighting to defend democracy from the belligerent dictatorships in Europe and Asia. But, they were also fighting a war for equality in the United States, by proving that their abilities, intelligence, and bravery were equal to whites. "We would go through any ordeal that came our way, be it garrison or combat, to prove our worth. Our airmen considered themselves pioneers in every sense of the word," recalled Davis. Thus, Davis was one of the many African-Americans who worked toward victory on two fronts — a "Double V" — overseas against fascism and at home against racism.

In 1948, President Harry S Truman officially desegregated the United States Armed Forces with Executive Order 9981. The wartime accomplishments of Davis and his fighter group as well as other all-black military units gave Truman the evidence he needed to integrate a national institution. The official desegregation of the armed forces also opened the opportunity for Davis to rise higher in the ranks of the recently-created Air Force.

After World War II, Davis graduated from the Air War College and became deputy chief of staff operations for Air Force headquarters in Washington, DC. From 1950 to 1953, he was commander of the 51st Fighter Interceptor Wing in Korea, and from 1967 to 1968, he led the 13th Air Force in Vietnam. He retired from the Air Force in 1970, with the rank of Lieutenant General.



Courtesy of the National Air and Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution

**Meet J. Holmes Armstead, Jr.
(Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.)**



J. Holmes Armstead, Jr. teaches international law and national security decision making at the US Naval War College in Monterey, California. He has a Ph.D. in Public Policy from Pacific Western University, where he wrote his dissertation under a RAND fellowship grant, and a J.D. from DePaul University. Armstead has portrayed numerous Chautauqua characters, including mountain man James Beckwourth, frontier Buffalo Soldier and mining engineer Henry O. Flipper, William Clark's manservant and slave, York, and black Texas cowboy Thaddeus Dunkley. He is currently researching and developing two new Chautauqua characters, Afro-French author Alexander Dumas and the Boston patriot Crispus Attucks.



After a brief stint in municipal government in Cleveland, Ohio, Davis joined the United States Department of Transportation in 1971 to oversee the creation of the federal sky marshal program to stop airline hijackings. The next year, he was named assistant secretary for safety and consumer affairs, where he oversaw the strengthening of airport security and implementing the 55 miles-per-hour national speed limit.

In 1998, President Bill Clinton promoted Davis to a full general and personally awarded the fourth star to the aging officer. In his remarks, Clinton said, "General Davis is here today as living proof that a person can overcome adversity and discrimination, achieve great things, and turn skeptics into believers. Through example and perseverance, one person can truly bring extraordinary change. . . . If we follow [his] example, we will always be a leader for democracy, opportunity, and peace." *

SELECTED READINGS

Applegate, Katherine A. *The Story of Two American Generals: Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. and Colin I. Powell*. Milwaukee, WI: Gareth Stevens Publishing, 1995.

Davis, Benjamin O., Jr. *Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., American: An Autobiography*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Dryden, Charles W. *A-Train: Memoirs of a Tuskegee Airman*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1997.

Fletcher, Marvin E. *America's First Black General: Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., 1880-1970*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1989.

Francis, Charles E. and Adolph Caso. *The Tuskegee Airmen: The Men Who Changed a Nation*. Boston: Branden Publishing, 1997.

Jefferson, Alexander and Lewis Carlson. *Red Tail Captured, Red Tail Free: Memoirs of a Tuskegee Airman and POW*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2005.

Scott, Lawrence P., and William M. Womack, Sr. *Double V: The Civil Rights Struggle of the Tuskegee Airmen*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1994.

Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.

1912-2002



*Courtesy of the Prints and Photographs
Division, Library of Congress.*

- 1912 Born December 18 in Washington, DC. Son of Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., one of only two black combat officers serving in the United States Army
- 1932 Entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, NY
- 1936 Commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the Infantry and assigned to Fort Benning, GA. Married Agatha Scott
- 1941 Began flight training at Alabama's Tuskegee Army Airfield and became the first black to earn his flying wings. Assumed command of the first all-black flying unit, later designated the 99th Pursuit Squadron and known as the "Tuskegee Airmen." Promoted to Lieutenant Colonel
- 1943 Flew combat mission in North Africa, securing combat roles for blacks in the Army Air Corps
- 1944 Awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Silver Star
- 1949 United States Air Force became the first military branch to desegregate
- 1954 Promoted to Brigadier General and became the Air Force's first black General officer. Later promoted to Major General and named Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations for the United States Air Force in Europe
- 1965 Promoted to Lieutenant General and named Chief of Staff for the United States and United Nations forces in Korea
- 1970 Retired from the Air Force
- 1971 Named Assistant Secretary of Transportation by President Richard Nixon; retired in 1975
- 1991 Published autobiography
- 1994 Became the first African American to be inducted into the Aviation Hall of Fame
- 1998 Promoted to full General by President Bill Clinton
- 2002 Died from complications from Alzheimer's disease, July 4, in Washington, DC



Abraham Lincoln: Waging War and Preserving a Democracy

By JIM GETTY

In February 1861, as he traveled from Illinois to Washington to become president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln stopped at many cities along the way to speak to the American people. At Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Lincoln noted that the idea which had kept the country together was “that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to the entire world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance.”

Lincoln’s belief in America’s democratic mission was rooted in his own background. Born in poverty in Kentucky in 1809, Lincoln moved with his family to southern Indiana when he was 7. His mother died when he was young, and his father remarried. In 1830, the family moved to Illinois. Lincoln soon established himself as a shop-keeper in New Salem. When the Black Hawk War broke out in Illinois in 1832, Lincoln gained his only military experience by helping suppress it. He later poked fun at himself, noting, “I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. . . . I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes; and although I never fainted from the loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry.”

Despite Lincoln’s undistinguished militia career, civic leaders saw something in the young man and encouraged him to run as a Whig for the Illinois legislature. Lincoln’s first campaign in 1832 ended in defeat; two years later, he was elected to the state legislature, where he served until 1842. At the same time, he managed, through self-study and contact with other lawyers, to become an attorney in the Springfield office of John Stuart. In 1842, he married Stuart’s kinswoman, Mary Todd, from a wealthy Kentucky slaveholding family.

In 1846, with the Mexican War already underway, Lincoln won election as Illinois’ only Whig in the United States House of Representatives. He opposed the war, but despite his misgivings, he always voted for supplies for the troops. Lincoln introduced an unsuccessful bill to free slaves in Washington, DC, with compensation to the owners. However, he did not favor equality for blacks and supported the colonization of freed slaves in Africa. Lincoln served only one term in Congress, returning to Illinois in 1849.

In 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, a Democratic senator from Illinois, shocked many in the North with his Kansas-Nebraska Act, which let the residents of Kansas and Nebraska decide whether those territories should be slave or free. Lincoln spoke out against the act. His concern was democracy and opportunity for whites, not blacks. He observed, “We want [the territories] for homes of free white people. This they cannot be, to any considerable extent, if slavery shall be planted within them.”

The Kansas-Nebraska Act helped destroy the national Whig party. Most Northern Whigs, including Lincoln, joined a new sectional party, the Republican Party, which was committed to stopping the spread of slavery. In 1858, Illinois Republicans chose Lincoln to challenge Democrat Stephen Douglas for his Senate seat. In accepting the nomination, Lincoln stated, “A house divided against itself cannot stand.’ I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . . It will become all one thing, or all the other.” The two candidates held seven debates around the state, with Douglas promoting popular sovereignty and Lincoln arguing against the expansion of slavery.

Despite losing the election, Lincoln gained national exposure from the debates. During the next eighteen months, he spoke throughout the North. In 1860, the Republican Party chose the one-term Congressman from Illinois as its presidential nominee. The election that year reflected the deep and hardening divisions in the country, and Lincoln won the presidency in a four-way contest.

During the four months between the election in early November and the inauguration on March 4, the Union fragmented. South Carolina seceded soon after the election. By Lincoln’s inauguration, six more states had seceded and formed the Confederate States of America. After Confederates fired on Fort Sumter in April, the new president called on the states to supply 75,000 troops to put down the rebellion. Rather than comply, four more states seceded.

At this point, Maryland became very important. The state was itself divided. Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore sympathized with the South, while western Maryland supported the North. Baltimore was badly split, with a very strong secessionist element. Indeed, on his way to Washington for the inauguration, Lincoln had secretly passed through the city at night, due to rampant rumors of a plot to assassinate or kidnap him.

Lincoln considered keeping Maryland in the Union to be of utmost importance. Railroad routes through the state connected Washington with both the West and the North. If Maryland had seceded, the nation’s capital would have been surrounded by Confederate territory. As a result, Lincoln cracked down hard on the state. Union troops occupied

Baltimore, Annapolis, and other towns. Lincoln ordered the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, allowing the military to imprison anyone suspected of disloyalty for indefinite periods without charging them. The Army arrested the mayor of Baltimore, the city’s police board, judges, newspaper editors, and many others. In the fall of 1861, when the legislature was going to meet in Frederick to possibly consider secession, Lincoln ordered the arrest of twenty-six pro-Southern legislators.

Other border states endured similar treatment. Many criticized Lincoln for violating the very liberty and democracy which he claimed to be defending. One of his severest critics

was Maryland-born Roger Taney, the chief justice of the Supreme Court. In *Ex parte Merryman*, Taney demanded that the government produced a writ of *habeas corpus* for a Maryland militia officer who had burned a railroad bridge. The government refused, and Taney blistered Lincoln for usurping powers not granted to him by the Constitution.

The issue for Lincoln was the very survival of the American experiment with democracy. He told Congress in July 1861 that secession and the outbreak of war “forces us to ask: ‘Is there, in all republics, this inherent and fatal weakness?’ ‘Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own

people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?’” He was willing to do anything he needed to for the sake of saving the Union. Lincoln defended his actions in Maryland on the basis of military necessity, but he also claimed his right to suspend the writ was grounded in the Constitution, which allowed the action in cases of rebellion or invasion.

As the War continued, military necessity caused Lincoln to take another action which would have a more far-reaching impact. Early in the War, Lincoln urged the slave states in the Union to provide for compensated emancipation. By mid-1862, however, he began to favor emancipation as an instrument of war, reasoning that the loss of slaves would disrupt the South’s ability to fight. In September 1862, the bloody Union victory at Sharpsburg (Antietam) allowed Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, which took effect on January 1, 1863. The Proclamation freed slaves only in those states then in rebellion, not in the loyal border states or in areas already conquered. Lincoln also allowed African Americans to join the military.



Courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Meet Jim Getty (Abraham Lincoln)



A native of central Illinois, Jim Getty resides in historic Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He holds a Master of Music degree from Illinois Wesleyan University, has taught choral music in Illinois and Ohio, and was director of Choral Activities at the University of Maine. Getty has spent years researching Abraham Lincoln and his contemporaries, and has developed several first person presentations as the sixteenth President. His performances have met with wide acclaim before audiences throughout the country, including the Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution, Bush Inaugural Gala, Corcoran Gallery, National Archives—Chicago Branch, and the Reagan Presidential Library. Getty's voice is that of Abraham Lincoln

in two A&E programs, and he is involved in leadership programs for the corporate world.



Despite its limitations, the Emancipation Proclamation changed the nature of the Civil War. Instead of being a war to save the Union, it became a war to free four million people from the bondage of slavery. In fact, the loyal border states voluntarily gave up slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment enshrined its elimination in the Constitution.

Late in 1863, Lincoln summed up the War's meaning when he spoke at the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery. The nation's founding fathers "brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." It was up to the living to dedicate themselves, so that "this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The Civil War continued for another eighteen months after the Gettysburg Address. Lincoln himself did not live to enjoy the peace, struck down by an assassin's bullet just days after Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses Grant in April 1865. But by his actions and his leadership, he had indeed assured that American democracy would survive. *

SELECTED READINGS

Boritt, Gabor S. *Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream*. Memphis, TN: Memphis State University Press, 1987.

Davis, William C. *Lincoln's Men: How President Lincoln Became Father to an Army and a Nation*. New York: Free Press, 1999.

Donald, David H. *Lincoln*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.

Guelzo, Allen C. *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004.

Holzer, Harold. *Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech That Made Abraham Lincoln President*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.

Long, David E. *The Jewel of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln's Re-Election and the End of Slavery*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994.

McPherson, James M. *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

_____. *We Cannot Escape History: Lincoln and the Best Hope of Earth*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Neely, Mark E., Jr. *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

_____. *The Last Best Hope of Earth: Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Paludan, Phillip S. *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995.

Thomas, Benjamin P. *Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1952.

Waugh, John C. *Re-electing Lincoln: The Battle for the 1864 Presidency*. New York: Crown Publishing, 1997.

Williams, Frank J. *Judging Lincoln*. Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002.

Abraham Lincoln

1809-1865



Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

- 1809 Born February 12 in Hodgenville, Kentucky
- 1816 Family crossed Ohio River and settled near Gentryville, Indiana
- 1828 Took flatboat working trip to New Orleans and witnessed a slave auction
- 1830 Moved westward by covered wagon to Decatur, Illinois area
- 1832 Served in the Illinois militia during the Black Hawk War
- 1832 Ran for Illinois state legislature as a member of the Whig party and was defeated
- 1834 Elected to the Illinois legislature and continued to serve until 1842; secured books to study law
- 1837 Allowed to practice law; moved to Springfield, Illinois
- 1842 Married Mary Todd on November 4
- 1846 Elected as a member of the Whig party to the United States House of Representatives
- 1854 Gave speech opposing the expansion of slavery, October 16, in Peoria, Illinois
- 1856 Became state leader in new Republican Party
- 1858 Lost race for United States Senate to incumbent, Stephen A. Douglas, after a series of debates
- 1860 Elected sixteenth President, November 6
- 1861 Inaugurated March 4
- 1861 Civil War began with the bombardment of Fort Sumter, South Carolina, April 12
- 1862 Union Army won bloody victory at Sharpsburg, Maryland, September 17
- 1863 Issued Emancipation Proclamation, January 1; Delivered Gettysburg Address, November 19
- 1864 Re-elected President, November 8
- 1865 Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, April 9
- 1865 Assassinated at Ford's Theatre, April 14



George Orwell on War and on Democracy

By JOHN C. (CHUCK) CHALBERG

Figuratively speaking, six wars shaped the man whom the world knows as George Orwell. The military and ideological battles of two World Wars, the Spanish Civil War, the Cold War, the struggle over imperialism in India, and Britain's class warfare affected how Orwell viewed both war and democracy. His writings reflect these experiences.

Born in 1903 as Eric Blair, he came from a privileged English background that he characterized as "lower upper middle class." His father served the British Empire as a government official in India's opium trade. Attending Eton, where he was a reluctant and fitful scholar, Blair was too young to fight in World War I. But he was not too young to experience the devastating impact of that war on his family, his school, and his country. Many of those experiences continued to have a very real impact on Blair as he grew older.

After Eton, Blair had no interest in pursuing anything approaching a formal education. At some level the young man did want to please and impress his father. What better way to accomplish that than by becoming an officer of the British imperial police? If there was something dirty about the opium trade, there was something honorable about the military trade. But something else was driving Blair. He knew that he wanted to be a writer. And what better way to soak up stories, characters, and scenes than by living somewhere near the heart of an empire on which the sun never set? Here there was at least the possibility of romance and adventure, not to mention the reality of a life far removed from the classroom.

In all, Blair spent nearly five years policing, listening, and observing in Burma, then ruled by Britain. The experience became the basis for at least two first-rate essays, "Shooting An Elephant" and "A Hanging," and one second-rate novel, *Burmese Days*. It also left him with a considerable sense of guilt over his role as an agent of empire and a very bad taste in his mouth over what he did and over what was done to him. If Blair was a reluctant imperialist when he left for Burma, he was an ardent anti-imperialist by the time his tour of duty was over.

Once back in England and out of uniform, Blair went off in search of new scenes, new stories, and new characters. This search soon landed him right in the middle of another war, namely the class war that was being played out as the Great Depression swept through the industrial world. His experiences again fueled his writing, and it was at this time that he adopted the pseudonym George Orwell. In *Down and Out in Paris and London*, Orwell followed in the dusty footsteps of one of his intellectual heroes, Jack London, by living as a tramp among the poor and reporting on his experiences. In *The Road to Wigan Pier*, Orwell provided a first-hand look at the coal industry. He cared deeply about the lot of the miners and their families, little for other leftist intellectuals who claimed to be their defenders, and not at all for the mine owners. These experiences pushed him in the direction of socialism.

The rising tide of fascism in the 1930s led to the fourth war that affected Orwell, the only one in which he actually fought. The onset of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 caused turmoil for socialists such as Orwell, who were torn between anti-war and anti-fascist sympathies. Led by Francisco Franco, the Spanish military sought to crush republican Spain, with help from Franco's fellow fascist, Adolf Hitler of Germany, who wanted to use the conflict as a dress rehearsal for future wars. Arrayed against Franco and Hitler were forces on the left in Spain, with support from leftists around the world, including Josef Stalin of the Soviet Union. Liberals, progressives, socialists, and communists called upon one another to put aside their differences in the name of fighting fascism.

Orwell joined the anti-fascist side in this war long before it was politically correct to have done so. He picked up a gun in the name of doing what he was convinced was the right thing. Once in Spain, however, Orwell soon realized that Stalinists — whether they be Spanish or Soviet — had no interest in preserving or building a republican government. If Hitler had his own agenda for Spain, so did Stalin and those who acted and fought in his name.

Once George Orwell realized this, he became not only an anti-fascist but an anti-communist and remained so for the rest of his brief life. He made his share of enemies on both the left and the right, but he never wavered in his convictions. After all, Orwell had long since established a reputation among family and friends for being a very stubborn fellow, even infuriatingly so. This was a combination that made him a marked man before, during, and after his brief career as an actual warrior and an actual fugitive in Spain. For Orwell, the Spanish Civil War was a potentially good war that went very bad indeed, and he was honest enough to say so out loud and in print. Nonetheless, he continued to believe that fighting in a war and advancing democracy were not necessarily mutually exclusive enterprises.

World War II soon provided Orwell with a chance to wrestle with questions of war and democracy. Both his age — he was in 36 when the war began — and the fragility of his health kept Orwell from serving as a soldier against the forces of fascist Germany and Italy, imperial Japan and, early in the war, the communist Soviet Union. But he did serve, albeit in a civilian capacity, as a propagandist for the British Broadcasting Corporation. It is ironic that the writer who was on the verge of an international reputation as a satirist of totalitarian propaganda — he wrote *Animal Farm* during the war — was himself a most sincere wartime propagandist. His target was any radio listener living in a not-yet-independent India. His mission was to convince his listeners that the Allied war against the Axis was a just war, a winnable war, and

certainly not an imperial war.

Orwell considered World War II a good war in two senses, one actual and one potential. It was a good war, because it was a war against the evil of Hitlerian fascism. But it could only be a thoroughly good war if it also resulted in a more democratic and a more socialist England. Orwell's idea of a good society was a society of rough — but not dictated and certainly not enforced — equality. Ideally, individual families would live contented, productive, and independent lives. Such a society would have a chance at decency, because it would be a society without great concentrations of wealth, whether old or new — and one in which ordinary people would have enough time and money to do ordinary things.

Following World War II, as the totalitarian communist world and the democratic capitalist world squared off in the Cold War, Orwell wrote *1984*, an anti-totalitarian novel satirizing the Soviet Union. However, his support for the democratic side in the emerging Cold War was not simply governed by his opposition to Stalinist communism. To Orwell, the Cold War could only be declared a good war if it also resulted in something positive. And once again that positive result was to be defined by the progress of democratic socialism in — and now beyond — England.

In 1950, George Orwell died from the effects of tuberculosis at age 46, long before the Cold War ended. Since his death, his political legacy has been the subject of an on-again, off-again debate. Whose side was he on? Can the right or the left or both claim Orwell as one of their own? More recently, Christopher Hitchens, a man of the left and a self-described “contrarian,” has made the case that his intellectual hero belongs to his side of the political divide. The right makes different claims. Neoconservative Norman Podhoretz has staked his own claim to *his* intellectual hero — the same George Orwell.



Courtesy of the Orwell Archive, University College London Library

Meet John C. Chalberg (George Orwell)



John C. (Chuck) Chalberg is a professional historian, actor, and Fulbright lecturer. He holds a Ph.D. in American history and has taught at the college level for many years. Chalberg has appeared across the United States, Canada, and Eastern Europe as G. K. Chesterton, Branch Rickey, Theodore Roosevelt, and H. L. Mencken, whom he portrayed at Maryland's 2002 Chautauqua. He has also started a show as golfing great, Bobby Jones, with his sons Stephen and Michael. Chalberg has performed at the New York Chautauqua as well as at state humanities Chautauquas in Idaho, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, Nevada, and Oklahoma. He has written a biography of Emma Goldman and a dual biography of

Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson.



Orwell saw himself as a man of the left, whether he was living as an obscure tramp among the "down and out" or enjoying success as the celebrated author of *Animal Farm* and *1984*. Indeed, he defined himself not just as a man of the left and not just as a socialist. He specifically defined himself as a "democratic socialist." And that definition applies to the obscure Orwell of the mid-1930s and to the world-famous Orwell, circa 1950. In sum, whether the war in question was the class war, the Second World War or the Cold War, Orwell looked at each of them from the vantage point of his democratic socialism. Here there was no Orwellian progression, no Orwellian growth. He was what he was, and he stayed what he was.

Much about the life of Orwell was complicated. But this much was not at all complicated. He was and remained a democratic socialist, because he was and remained convinced that the life of the common man would be better and more decent if democratic socialism triumphed in the only way that was legitimate, namely democratically.

These desires for social progress do not mark Orwell as a utopian. His goals were always meliorist. He hoped to use his pen to make life better, not to make life perfect. In fact, Orwell devoted much of his dwindling energy to fighting against — or at least exposing — utopian thinking and its inevitably baneful consequences. What is *Animal Farm* if not a satiric portrait of what happens when utopians — or at least alleged utopians — gain power? And what is *1984* if not a speculation on the national and international consequences of utopianism run amok?

It might be argued that "democratic socialism" is at best an oxymoron and at worst its own totalitarian (read utopian) nightmare. While it is not likely that Orwell would ever have accepted either alternative, it is important to understand Orwell in his own day, on his own terms, and in the context of his own wars. We cannot know what Orwell might have thought about the post-1950 story of democratic socialism. We cannot know whether he would have eventually repudiated democratic socialism, whether for its implicit totalitarianism or its explicit utopianism. We can only know that this was his thinking on the twin subjects of democracy and war when he was alive and writing. *

SELECTED READINGS

Bowker, Gordon. *Inside Orwell: A Biography*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Davison, Peter, ed. *The Complete Works of George Orwell*. 20 vols. London: Secker & Warburg, 1998.

Hitchens, Christopher. *Why Orwell Matters*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Lucas, Scott. *Orwell*. London: Haus Publishing Limited, 2003.

Meyers, Jeffrey. *Orwell: Wintry Conscience of a Generation*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2000.

Newsinger, John. *Orwell's Politics*. New York: Macmillan Press, 1999.

Orwell, George. *1984*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1949.

_____. *Animal Farm*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1945.

_____. *Homage to Catalonia*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1938.

Rodden, John. *Scenes from an Afterlife: The Legacy of George Orwell*. Wilmington: ISI Books, 2003.

George Orwell

1903-1950



Courtesy of the Orwell Archive, University
College London Library

- 1903 Born in India as Eric Blair on June 25
- 1921 Graduated from Eton
- 1922 Arrived in Burma to serve with the Indian Imperial Police
- 1927 Returned to England after resigning his police post
- 1928 Published first article in England in G.K. Chesterton's *G.K.'s Weekly* magazine
- 1933 Published *Down and Out in Paris and London*
- 1934 Published *Burmese Days*
- 1936 Married Eileen O'Shaughnessy on June 9
- 1937 Arrived in Spain to fight fascism; published *The Road to Wigan Pier*
- 1938 Joined Britain's Independent Labour Party; published *Homage to Catalonia*
- 1939 Published *Coming Up for Air*
- 1940 Joined the United Kingdom's Home Guard and began propaganda work for the BBC
- 1944 Adopted a son, Richard Horatio Blair
- 1945 Published *Animal Farm*; Covered the end of World War II in Europe as a war correspondent; Wife Eileen died on March 29
- 1946 Moved to the island of Jura in Scotland to write *1984*
- 1949 Published *1984*; Married Sonia Brownell on October 13
- 1950 Died in London on January 21

Garrett College

July 4, 5, 6, 7 & 8



ALL PROGRAMS BEGIN AT 7:00 pm UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Monday, July 4 7:30 pm | Independence Day Concert by the Garrett Community Concert Band, followed by fireworks from the mountaintop at Wisp |
| Tuesday, July 5 | Early Recorder Music by Marsh Mountain Consort An Evening with Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., by J. Holmes Armstead, Jr. |
| Wednesday, July 6 | Musical Selections by Garrett Choral Society and Voice Students An Evening with Abraham Lincoln, by Jim Getty |
| Thursday, July 7 | World War II Era Music by "The Andrews Sisters" An Evening with Margaret Bourke-White, by Doris Dwyer |
| Friday, July 8 | Fiddler Ellinor Benedict with guitar accompanist An Evening with George Orwell, by John C. (Chuck) Chalberg |

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Garrett College Auditorium.

Directions to Garrett College: Take exit 14A off I-68. Follow 219 South to McHenry and turn left at Mosser Road. For Garrett College information, call Garrett Lakes Arts Festival at 301.387.3082. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185.

Garrett College is proud to serve as a host for the eleventh year of the Maryland Humanities Council's annual Chautauqua. The four evenings of Chautauqua will be preceded by a concert with the Garrett Community Concert Band on Monday, July 4.

The Chautauqua program is a collaboration among Garrett College, Garrett Lakes Arts Festival, and the Garrett County Arts Council. Because of its location in a rural, resort environment, Garrett College integrates the natural resources with the academic curriculum. Signature programs include Adventure Sports, Agricultural Management, and Natural Resources and Wildlife Technology.

Garrett Lakes Arts Festival is based at the college. It is the largest presenter of performing arts in Garrett County, offering diverse cultural and artistic performances and arts education opportunities from March through November. The Garrett County Arts Council is located in Oakland where it operates a community art gallery. The Arts Council offers funding for nonprofit organizations involved in integrating the cultural arts into the life of the community.

Dr. Stephen J. Herman, President
Ms. Elizabeth Johnson, GLAF
Executive Director
Mr. Stephen Schlosnagle, GCAC
Executive Director

Montgomery College— Germantown

July 5, 6, 7, & 8



Montgomery College

ALL PROGRAMS BEGIN AT 7:00 pm UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Tuesday, July 5 | Songs of the World War II Era by Loralyn Coles An Evening with Margaret Bourke-White, by Doris Dwyer |
| Wednesday, July 6 | Songs That Veterans Love by Judy Moore An Evening with George Orwell, by John C. (Chuck) Chalberg |
| Thursday, July 7 | Songs of Patriotism and Protest by Dan Mazer An Evening with Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., by J. Holmes Armstead, Jr. |
| Friday, July 8 | Songs of the Civil War Era by Mary Sue Twohy An Evening with Abraham Lincoln, by Jim Getty |

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in Globe Hall.

Directions to Montgomery College—Germantown: From I-270 take exit 15 East (Route 118). Continue to traffic light at Observation Drive and turn right. For Montgomery College information, call 301.353.7746. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185.

Welcome to Montgomery College—Germantown, and welcome to Chautauqua 2005, “War and Democracy: Personal Journeys.” For the seventh year, the College is delighted to host our friends and neighbors at another thought-provoking event.

As always, the Chautauqua theme is timely. We all carry vivid memories of the attacks of September 11, 2001. Many of us have seen friends or family leave to serve in combat in Afghanistan and Iraq, and we are becoming particularly sensitive to the need to understand war from a wide range of perspectives. This year’s Chautauqua program offers speakers who can promote a thoughtful and informed dialog, and the Germantown Campus has a role to play in supporting this dialog.

The Germantown Campus has grown to more than 5,000 students who are enrolled in programs that either prepare them for transfer to four-year institutions and professional schools or give them the skills they need to succeed in the ever-changing workplace. The Campus is truly a place for cultural, social, and political dialogue; and intellectual development is encouraged through the College’s commitment to the arts. Our students have numerous opportunities to become informed on a variety of topics, and discussion is facilitated through programs such as Chautauqua. We are grateful to have an opportunity to engage our friends and neighbors in this process and thank you for sharing in this exciting program.

Dr. Hercules Pinkney
Vice President and Provost

Community College of Baltimore County, Catonsville

July 7, 8, 9, & 10



CCBC

The Community College
of Baltimore County

ALL PROGRAMS BEGIN AT 7:00 pm UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| Thursday, July 7 | Music for two violins by Rachael Stockton, Music Faculty, CCBC Essex, and Montae Gilliams, CCBC Essex An Evening with George Orwell, by John C. (Chuck) Chalberg |
| Friday, July 8 | Music for two violins by Rachael Stockton, Music Faculty, CCBC Essex, and Hilary Brooks, CCBC alumnus An Evening with Margaret Bourke-White, by Doris Dwyer |
| Saturday, July 9 | Solo guitar music for a summer evening by Robert Winter, Music Faculty, CCBC Essex An Evening with Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., by J. Holmes Armstead, Jr. |
| Sunday, July 10 | Solo guitar music for a summer evening by Robert Winter, Music Faculty, CCBC Essex An Evening with Abraham Lincoln, by Jim Getty |

I am delighted to welcome you to Chautauqua on the Catonsville campus presented in conjunction with the Maryland Humanities Council. This year's program, sponsored by the CCBC Dundalk and CCBC Essex President's Office and the Liberal Arts division, with Comcast as our media sponsor, focuses on *War and Democracy: Personal Journeys*. For a country currently at war, what topic could be more appropriate? In this year of the sixtieth anniversary of World War II, we realize that many of its soldiers are dead or dying and their personal journeys will never be told. What a loss for society. Hopefully, these programs will let you reflect on your own personal views of war and democracy as you experience the personal journeys of an author, a war correspondent and photojournalist, a Tuskegee airman, and a wartime president.

Dr. Eugenia I. Proulx
President, CCBC Dundalk and
CCBC Essex

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Q Theatre.

Directions to CCBC Catonsville: From the Baltimore Beltway (695) take Exit 12, Wilkens Avenue West. Follow Wilkens Avenue West to Valley Road. Turn right on Valley Road and travel to the college entrance. For CCBC Catonsville information, call 410.455.4508. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185.

Cecil Community College

July 8, 9, 10 & 11



ALL PROGRAMS BEGIN AT 7:00 pm UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Friday, July 8 | Jazz and Swing Guitar Music by Patrick Sise and Troy Marcum An Evening with Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., by J. Holmes Armstead, Jr. |
| Saturday, July 9 | Music of the Times by LadyFingers2 An Evening with Abraham Lincoln, by Jim Getty |
| Sunday, July 10 | Dance and Music of the Period by the Cecil County Heritage Troupe An Evening with Margaret Bourke-White, by Doris Dwyer |
| Monday, July 11 | Guitar and Vocal Music by J. Andrew Dickenson And Yeonjune Suh An Evening with George Orwell, by John C. (Chuck) Chalberg |

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Milburn Stone Memorial Theatre.

Directions to Cecil Community College: From I-95 take Exit 100. At end of ramp, turn left onto 272N towards Rising Sun. At first light turn right. For Cecil Community College information, call 410.287.1023. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185.

Welcome to the Maryland Humanities Council's 11th Chautauqua! It is always good to see our many friends and neighbors attend and support this great event. This annual salute to history and tradition is significant to all of us at Cecil Community College. Cecil County is proud of its own rich history, and now for a fifth season, Chautauqua 2005 offers us an opportunity to honor culture and ideas in a dynamic way.

Cecil Community College is Cecil County's only institution of higher education. Primary to our mission is offering opportunities and activities that educate and inform our community. We have enjoyed bringing classes and educational programming for over 36 years to our citizens to help them reach their educational and career goals. Cecil Community College is constantly evolving to meet the needs of our community as one of Maryland's fastest growing community colleges. Our traditional programs such as Nursing, Visual Communications, Business, Computer Information Systems, and the Mid-Atlantic Transportation and Logistics Institute continue to be leaders in the industry, and our new programs of Cyber Security, the Equine Institute and Maritime Trades are receiving accolades and growing to meet the demands of our times. We continue our strong commitment to student success by providing them with the necessary training and education to face the myriad of challenges in our contemporary society. Your attendance affirms that you value our celebrating the past, engaging in the present, and supporting the future. We appreciate your attendance and hope you have a fantastic experience.

Dr. W. Stephen Pannill, President

Chesapeake College

July 11, 12, 13 & 14



ALL PROGRAMS BEGIN AT 7:00 pm UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Monday, July 11 | Songs by Kenyetta Bowser and Tasia Fassett An Evening with Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., by J. Holmes Armstead, Jr. |
| Tuesday, July 12 | Contemporary Folk Stylings by Jerry Haines An Evening with Abraham Lincoln, by Jim Getty |
| Wednesday, July 13 | Vocals by Jeffrey Calder-Dow An Evening with Margaret Bourke-White, by Doris Dwyer |
| Thursday, July 14 | Original Music by John Ruffini An Evening with George Orwell, by John C. (Chuck) Chalberg |

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Kent Humanities Building.

Directions to Chesapeake College: Chesapeake College is located at the intersection of U.S. 50 and U.S. 213 on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 14 miles east of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. For Chesapeake College information, call 410.827.5867. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185.

Chesapeake College is delighted to host the Maryland Humanities Council's 2005 Chautauqua for the Upper Shore Region. A key initiative in the College's Strategic Plan is the support of initiatives that will preserve and protect our cultural and historical heritage. Needless to say, the Chautauqua is just such an initiative.

Founded in 1965, Chesapeake College serves the large, five-county area of the Upper Eastern Shore. It offers a full range of career and transfer programs, non-credit classes, and customized training. Each year more than 15,000 area residents enroll in courses at the college's three sites at Wye Mills, Easton, and Cambridge; in many off-campus sites; and through the distance-learning network. The college also hosts the Eastern Shore Higher Education Center offering upper division and graduate-level programs through a consortium of colleges and universities on the Shore. With the reopening of the Rufus and Loraine Hall Todd Performing Arts Center, the Wye Mills campus has become the region's economic and cultural center. The college also houses an extensive collection of documents and artifacts relating to the region, and the Chesapeake College Press publishes occasional works about the Eastern Shore.

As we celebrate 40 years of Chesapeake College serving the region, it is a wonderful time to examine the nation's past. We hope you enjoy Chautauqua 2005 and leave our campus with a greater appreciation of our rich historical heritage.

Dr. Stuart M. Bounds, President

College of Southern Maryland

July 11, 12, 13 & 14



ALL PROGRAMS BEGIN AT 7:00 pm UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| Monday, July 11 | For the Red, White, and Blue: Patriotic Songs of America by Jim Watson and Friends An Evening with Margaret Bourke-White, by Doris Dwyer |
| Tuesday, July 12 | Rally for the Boys: Songs of WWII Sing Along with Jim Watson An Evening with Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., by J. Holmes Armstead, Jr. |
| Wednesday, July 13 | Early Songs of the American Spirit I presented by the Hildebrands An Evening with George Orwell, by John C. (Chuck) Chalberg |
| Thursday, July 14 | Early Songs of the American Spirit II presented by the Hildebrands An Evening with Abraham Lincoln, by Jim Getty |

The College of Southern Maryland welcomes you and your family to our La Plata Campus for Chautauqua 2005. CSM is a regional community college serving Charles, Calvert and St. Mary's counties. Our outstanding faculty and staff are committed to preparing its students and community to meet the challenges of individual, social and global changes through active learning by offering a diverse and dynamic mix of courses—including web-based courses and tele-courses—and a wide range of associate degree programs, certificates, letters of recognition and continuing education courses, as well as service learning and volunteer programs.

In addition to its academic excellence, CSM has a long history of support of the humanities. The Southern Maryland Studies Center has served the community for more than twenty years as an archive of local history and a vital source for family and scholarly research. CSM is pleased to host Chautauqua for a sixth year.

Dr. Elaine Ryan, President

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185 or the CSM Learning Assistance Center at 1.800.933.9177. All Evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Fine Arts Center. Bring a picnic (no alcoholic beverages permitted) and a blanket. Seating in chairs also available. College Store and Ice Cream Corner open until 8:00 pm.

Directions to the College of Southern Maryland: From the intersection of Route 5 and Route 301, in Brandywine, travel south on Route 301 approximately 14 miles to the traffic light at Mitchell Road. From Route 5 (Leonardtown Rd) and Route 301 in Waldorf, approximately 6 miles, turn right on Mitchell Road and proceed approximately two miles to the main entrance of the college. For College of Southern Maryland information, call 301.934.7828 or 301.870.3008, Ext. 7766. For further information about Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410.685.4185.



MARYLAND
HUMANITIES
COUNCIL
Explore the HUMAN Experience

The Maryland Humanities Council **THANKS** Our Sponsors for Their Support of Chautauqua 2005



The NiSource Charitable Foundation

Columbia Gas[®]
of Maryland

A NiSource Company



NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT[®]
FOR THE
HUMANITIES

We The People Program



Division of Historical and Cultural Programs
Department of Housing and Community Development



88.1 FM Your NPR News Station



To find out about other great Humanities programs during the rest of the year, please visit our website, www.mdhc.org

DO NOT CIRCULATE

